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DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT

reconcile truly (not by abolishing the one or the other, but by leaving room for the existence and the collaboration of both), national society and the national State, the loyalties due to both, the liberties flowing from both. There is a liberty belonging to the members of a social group : there is also a liberty belonging to the members of a State ; and both of these liberties have their reason and their place. There are purposes which are best served by social groups and not by the State ; and it is therefore best that groups formed for these purposes should be left free, so far as the State is concerned, in the action which they take for their attainment. But their being left free by the State does not mean their being left entirely alone by the State. On the contrary, the State will leave groups free only if, in the first place, they respect freedom in themselves, and if, in the second place, they respect it in the State. The freedom of the social group is not an absolute freedom. It exists in conjunction with, and it must act in relation to, the liberty which exists in the area of the State. Nor, again, is the liberty of the social group identical in kind with the system of civil and political liberty which belongs to the State. It is a different liberty. It is a liberty of voluntary co-operation for the attainment of some particular social purpose. It does not involve or imply the existence of a second State which is the parallel and therefore the rival of the existing State ; it only implies the existence of a social group which is different from the State and can thus be complementary to it. If social groups be thus regarded, not as alternative or opposing States of equal dimensions and like claims, but as voluntary societies in another dimension and with different claims, we shall escape that problem of the separation and demarcation of liberties to which we have already referred. We shall not speak, for example, of an economic liberty which is peculiar to some one particular economic group, and of a civil and political liberty which is peculiar to a parallel but separate political group. We shall rather speak of a number of groups voluntarily formed for particular economic purposes, and seeking to achieve those objects by the methods of voluntary co-operation in the area of society (in the form of a Labour Party or of various Labour parties, of Trade Unions and a Congress of Trade Unions, and the like) ; we shall speak of a State formed for the general

We have thus, on the one hand, a philosophy of society and nothing but society, and, on the other, one of the State and nothing but the State. Perhaps the latter is the more dangerous of the two. The philosophy of the State and nothing but the State not only eliminates society, but also the individual : it leaves us in a realm of ghosts, who have lost the quality of personality and, ceasing to possess intrinsic worth, have become mere means to the higher value of the State. The philosophy of society and nothing but society neglects and rejects the system of civil and political liberty contained in the State, and thereby seeks to eliminate a necessary and indispensable condition of the free play of individual personality ; but while it thus refuses to accept a necessary means, it still recognizes—and indeed, by that refusal, it may even be said to over-emphasize—the truth that the free development of human personality is the ultimate end of human life. It is a philosophy, we may say, which is least dangerous when it is most anarchistic. When it seeks to recognize the claim of society in the particular form of a workers' society, and when it proceeds to enthrone such a society as a workers' republic for a transitional period of drastic reorganization (which may well be permanent), it approaches, and it may even transcend, the excesses of nationalism. Instead of dethroning the State in favour of a workers' society, it merely enthrones a workers' society (which, after all, is only a part of society) as a new and more terrible State.

If there is any lesson of our times, it is that we need simultaneously both society and the State. So long as men think and feel in terms of nations, society will be national society and the State will be a national State.¹ Both in national society and in the national State, and in both simultaneously, men find their free fulfilment. Both exist for that purpose : both are necessary for that purpose. If we imagine a State which is all in all, and leaves no room for voluntary social co-operation, we imagine something which instead of promoting will tend to defeat the free fulfilment of individuals.

¹ The Russian Revolution itself, starting in 1917 on the basis of the international solidarity of the workers' society in all nations and States indifferently, and still dreaming in 1924 that the new federal union of that year would be a new and decisive step towards the union of the workers of all countries in a socialist Soviet Republic of the world, has now settled down, under the constitution of 1936, on the basis of national society and a national State.

If we imagine a society which is all in all, and leaves no room for the action of the State, we imagine something which will also tend to defeat that fulfilment—whether the State be really abolished, and its necessary services of securing civil and political liberty really cease to be rendered ; or whether the State be only nominally abolished, and the society which professes to take its place be simply a new and illiberal State. The variety of man, with his many purposes and his different methods, must flow in more than one channel if it is to flow at all.

But what must flow freely, and what must be free, is always man himself—the individual man—the human personality. Thinking of the multiplicity of channels, and of the possibility that one channel may steal the waters of others, we sometimes talk of the freedom of the channel. We speak of the freedom of the State : the freedom of the Church : the freedom of this or that other group—class, occupation, profession, or party. But a free State, or Church, or party, or class, is simply a channel along which individuals can flow freely. It is simply a group in and by which they can attain *their* freedom—the only true and ultimate freedom. Ultimately, as also originally, the only freedom is that of the individual ; and if we speak of the freedom of groups, it is only derivatively and secondarily that we so speak. Their freedom exists, or should exist, in so far as they promote individual freedom, and in consequence of their promoting that freedom. A group can proclaim the cause of its liberty only in so far as it is a condition of the liberty of its members.

Organizations always tend to be regarded, especially by their organizers, as ends in themselves. No organization is ever that. Any organization is a means to the freedom of its members. But no organization is absolutely justified even if it promotes the freedom of all its members—but promotes *their* freedom only. It may do that, and yet be inimical to a broader liberty. That is why each partial organization needs the criticism of some higher organization, and why, ultimately, all other organizations of men must come to the bar of the organization of all men, if that can ever come to pass. We can imagine a high measure of general liberty under a system of national societies and national States. We can imagine a perfect liberty only in a world society and a world State.

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II

THE SYSTEM OF CIVIL AND POLITICAL LIBERTY

§ 1. CIVIL LIBERTY, THE CIVIL CODE, AND DECLARATIONS OF RIGHTS

WE shall be concerned, for the future, with liberty as it appears in the State. Our theme will be twofold. It will include, in the first place, some consideration of the general rights of private action which are guaranteed, under civil law, on the one hand to individuals, and on the other hand to groups or associations of individuals, in so far as such groups or associations are acting in the sphere of civil law, and in so far, therefore, as they become the claimants of rights in that sphere. It will include, in the second place, some examination of the general system of institutions which is established, under the law of the constitution, in order to secure rights of public action, or of co-operation in public action, to individuals and groups of individuals. Of these two themes it will be the latter—or, in other words, the theme of political liberty—which will mainly engage our attention.

Civil liberty will be at its greatest when two conditions are established : when rights of private action are clearly defined in ample terms, to cover the widest possible range of such action, and when these rights, so defined, are strictly enforced by definite remedies which can be applied as speedily and effectively as possible. It is the second of these two conditions which has been particularly satisfied in our English system of civil law. Our definitions of civil rights are scanty or at any rate scattered : our remedies for the enforcement of rights are numerous and, above all, effective. On the Continent definition has played a far larger part ; and codes have been issued, such as the Civil and the other codes of Napoleon, or the German Civil Code of 1898, which have stated the range of civil liberty in exact proportions and in orderly sequence.

Nor is this all. In other countries a definition of civil rights has often been incorporated in, or connected with, the Constitution itself. It has not been left entirely to the sphere of ordinary or secondary law : it has also been included in the sphere of that primary law which constitutes and controls the State. The example was set by the North American Colonies, in 1776, when in seceding from England they gave themselves

declaration here follows, and does not precede, the constitution proper, and that it is confined, on the whole, to the rights of civil liberty. (But it is also perhaps significant, on a wider view, that groups and group-life play a large part in the German declaration, and that while only the first section is devoted to the individual, four whole sections are devoted to groups and general group-interests.)¹

Two problems here emerge—that of the value of the civil code, and that of the value of the solemn declaration of rights annexed to, or contained in, the constitution. The question whether the cause of civil liberty is best served by the definition and order of a civil code, or by the system of remedies provided in legal procedure, lies beyond our scope. Bentham believed that a civil code would emancipate the layman from the lawyer, by giving him a clear and intelligible scheme which he could understand for himself. It is perhaps a better argument that codification might emancipate the lawyer from himself, by giving him a clean sheet and a quittance from accumulated lumber. But the problem of the relation of a civil code to the cause of civil liberty is a technical and professional problem. More serious, in its general bearing, is the problem of the relation of the solemn declaration of first principles (included in or connected with the constitution) to the general cause of civil, and also of political, liberty.

The English temper is apt to mistrust enunciations of legal and political principle, as being but sounding words and abstract propositions, which may distract attention from the real necessity of actual legal remedies and concrete political institutions. We have, or we think that we have, an unwritten constitution; and if we have left our constitution unwritten, how (we may well inquire) can we write declarations of rights, which seem to be logically connected with the written constitution? But there is something to be said, none the less, in favour of declarations of rights. Even in our own country, and even if our constitution is unwritten, *Magna Carta*, the *Petition of Right*, and the *Bill of Rights* are all declarations of rights. A declaration issued in a grave moment of national history, when the minds of men are stirred to the depths, may become the tradition and inspiration of succeeding

¹ These four sections are concerned with the life of the community, religion and religious associations, education and schools, and economic life.

and the loss involved may be even greater than the gain. We have to think of the cause of progress, as well as of the causes of liberty and of minority-rights. The cause of social progress may be defeated if an obstinate minority, clinging to some obsolescent principle enunciated in a declaration of rights, is able to defeat constitutional amendment, and to influence the constitutional court to disallow legislation which runs contrary to that principle. This is a genuine danger. But it may be worth incurring for the sake of the possible gain ; and the danger may well be diminished if the declaration is not too tightly and specifically drawn (it is not everything that deserves to be written in letters of brass), and if the special majority required is not too large. To require a majority of three quarters is really to enthrone a minority which just exceeds one quarter.

§ 2. POLITICAL LIBERTY : ITS METHOD OF DISCUSSION ; THE AREA OF THAT METHOD ; ITS STAGES AND ORGANS

The cause of civil liberty, we have argued, may conceivably gain by the formal codification of civil law ; it may also gain by a formal declaration of rights (which is really a declaration not so much of actual rights as of general theorems in regard to rights) which is contained in, or associated with, the constitution. But the reality of civil liberty must always depend not upon forms, but upon the detail and substance of actual rules, and, no less, on the actual methods of legal procedure by which those rules are enforced in practice. Much the same is true of the cause of political liberty. It stands to gain, at any rate in theory, from the form of a written constitution accompanied by a declaration of rights, safeguarded by constitutional court, and protected by a special organ and methods of constitutional amendment. But, here again, the reality of political liberty consists in the detail and substance of actual institutions, and—even more—in the working of these institutions, in the methods of political procedure, in the tone and temper of action. Institutions are one thing, and the actual working of institutions is another thing. It is possible that good institutions may work badly, if wrong methods of procedure are applied, or a proper tone and temper of action are not forthcoming. It is not so easy for bad institutions to work well ; but at any rate they may be made to work better than good institutions used wrongly.

force. On the other hand the qualification seems to endanger democracy even more than to justify or excuse it. If democracy possesses only hypothetical force, what is to happen when its hypothesis is challenged by a resolute and organized minority? The bluff may be called, and the stakes may be lost.

Democracy which rests merely on the will of number rests merely on force. If we keep the name and the idea of democracy, we must find some other basis. The force which democracy can employ, being hypothetical, is inadequate merely as force; and above and beyond that, the very idea of force, whether adequate or inadequate, has no place in our argument. We have to discover a system of government which squares with, and is based upon, the free and full development of human personality—not in some, or even in many, but in all. From this point of view it is not the people, as a people, that matters. It is not the majority, as a majority, that matters. It is each human being, as such. The form of government we have to find is one which elicits and enlists—or at any rate is calculated to elicit and enlist, so far as is humanly possible—the thought, the will, and the general capacity of every member. It must be a government depending on mutual interchange of ideas, on mutual criticism of the ideas interchanged, and on the common and agreed choice of the idea which emerges triumphant from the ordeal of interchange and criticism. A government depending on such a process can enlist in itself and its own operation the self of every member. It will be self-government: it will square with, and be based upon, the development of personality and individuality in every self. It will be government by the people not as a mass, or as a majority, but as a society of living selves. In that sense it will be a democracy. But it will be a democracy which does not rest on number or mass or quantity. It will be a democracy which rests on the spiritual quality of the process which it disengages, and on the value of the process for every participant.

That process is, in a word, discussion—discussion of competing ideas, leading to a compromise in which all the ideas are reconciled and which can be accepted by all because it bears the imprint of all. It is a process which raises two problems. The first is the problem of the area, the organs and

since, in their ultimate issue, they present programmes and candidates to the electorate, which is part of the political scheme, they also enter the area of political organization. A party has thus a double nature or quality. It is, we may say, a bridge, which rests at the one end on society and at the other on the State. It is, we may also say in another metaphor, a conduit or sluice, by which the waters of social thought and discussion are brought to the wheels of political machinery and set to turn those wheels. It is one of the problems of modern politics whether parties should be left entirely in the voluntary area of society, unregulated by the State, or whether, on the ground that they act as factors in the political scheme, they should be made the objects of State regulation. If the latter policy be adopted, we may have laws passed, as has been done in the states of the U.S.A., to regulate the conditions under which parties may hold their meetings and propose their candidates¹; or, with a different purpose, and from a different point of view, we may have laws passed, as has been done in some of the states of the Continent, to compel the party lists prepared by the different parties, to compel the voter to vote for the whole party list (and not for a particular person or persons), and to assign seats to each party, as such, in proportion to the number of votes which has been cast for its list.

Whatever view we may adopt in regard to this problem, and whichever policy we may approve, there is one rule which we may lay down in regard to parties, a rule entailed by the general process of discussion to which they belong and which they are intended to serve. There must necessarily be a plurality of parties. A single party cannot provide the basis of a system of government by discussion. Discussion is ended at once if only a single issue is formulated and a single programme enunciated. When the State not only regulates parties, but so regulates them that it abolishes all parties other than the single party of the 'people' or 'nation' or 'proletariat', it really abrogates the essence of party, and in that act it also abolishes any real activity of the other stages and organs of democracy. Party ceases to be an organ of Lord Bryce, referring to these laws, speaks of 'this legal recognition of Party as a public political institution . . . this application of statutory regulation to what had heretofore been purely voluntary and extra-legal associations' (*Modern Democracies*, II, p. 142).

faith or doctrine which stands by itself in a world of its own. To say this of such a party (for example, a communist party) is not to condemn it *in toto*. It is only to say of it (what many of its own adherents also say) that it is not qualified to be a part, or a means, in the system of government by discussion.

§ 4. THE ELECTORATE : ITS SELECTIVE AND INSTRUCTIVE POWERS

The second stage of discussion is the choice between party programmes, and between the representatives of those programmes, which is made by the electorate. When a party system, with a plurality of parties, has done its work, the electorate is presented with different and yet similar issues—different, in that different lines of policy, in each of the various areas of the State's activity, are necessarily involved : similar, in that the issues are of a similar general character, and in that they suppose a similar common interest. Along with these issues, the electorate is presented with their exponents. Its function, in the position in which it stands, is determined partly by the activity of party which has gone before, and partly by the activity of parliament and cabinet which has to come afterwards. The electorate cannot be regarded by itself, or in isolation, or as if it were a sovereign which was the beginning and the end, initiating everything and concluding everything. It is a part of the system of discussion, which has both to take over and to hand on the torch in such a way as will best keep it burning and bright. Its function is thus twofold. First, in the act of 'taking over' from party, it discharges a selective function. It discusses and decides, at the moment of its choice, the selection of the representatives of programmes ; and therein and thereby, according to the selection of representatives which it makes, it also discusses and decides the selection of a programme. In a word, it primarily selects men ; but by doing so it also selects a policy. Secondly, in the act of 'handing on' to parliament, it discharges what we may call an instructive function. It instructs the men, whom it has elected, to carry discussion to a further and finer point in a legislative assembly ; it instructs them to discuss the translation of the programme, for which they stand and on which they have been elected, into a body of general rules, or laws, and thus to attain a further stage in the system of

division of labour on which the whole process of discussion is based.

The selective function of the electorate is a function which is primarily concerned with men and the selection of men. It is true that the men who present themselves to the electorate for election have been pre-elected, as it were, by parties, and thus appear before the electorate less in themselves, or as themselves, than as representatives of parties : it is also true that the electorate, in exercising its selective function, not only chooses between men, but also between parties and the programmes of those parties. But it is also true that the essence of the selective function of the electorate consists in the choice of men who, in their personal capacity, and in virtue of their character, are fitted to discharge the task of deliberation and discussion at the parliamentary stage. In choosing such men the electorate needs the preliminary service and the general guidance of party ; but it must also be free to make a real choice, and to exercise a real judgment. Otherwise it will not be a new and separate organ which represents a new and separate stage of discussion ; it will be only an appendage and instrument of party. A free electorate, guided by party, but not enslaved by party, is a thing difficult to attain.

It is obvious enough that a free electorate requires a system of universal suffrage and secret ballot. It is almost equally obvious, though it is not an uncontested proposition, that a free electorate requires a system of geographical divisions or constituencies, each general enough in its composition to serve as a microcosm and mirror of the whole. If we pursued another policy, and if we divided the electorate into occupations or 'functions', each returning its quota of members, we should have sectional and disparate constituencies which not only failed to square with the character of the general political parties, or to produce a general political parliament capable of debating on a common ground, but also were calculated to paralyse the general freedom of the electorate by making it a mere congeries of different sectional interests. But while these things are obvious, or tolerably obvious, it is much less clear how the guidance of party can be reconciled with the freedom of the electorate. There are many who, consumed by an honest zeal for party, would accommodate the electorate to its exigencies. They demand systems of propor-

parliamentary stage. In other words, it instructs or authorizes parliament, in the light of the general result of the previous process of selection, and according to the majority which it has given, to discuss and enact legislation and to control administration. But, in a more particular sense, the electorate does not give detailed instructions or specific mandates. It creates a legislature ; but it does not dictate legislation or participate in legislation. It elects a body for the purpose of doing something beyond what it does itself, and something different from what it can do itself.

This, at any rate, is the current doctrine ; but it is not an indisputable or an undisputed doctrine. Here, again, as in the previous case of party, there are two factors which must always be present ; and different views may be taken of their balance. On the one hand, the verdict of the electorate and the result of elections must guide the action of parliament : on the other hand, parliament must freely discuss, and freely decide by its own honest light, the emergent problems of national life. With such a delicate balance, it is difficult to lay down precise rules of ' Thus far, and no farther '. We must respect the idea of division of labour ; but we must not respect it idolatrously. There may be cases in which the electorate, after an election fought on a specific issue, actually and properly gives a mandate which dictates the legislation on that issue ; there may even be cases in which the electorate may properly decide, by a referendum, the final fate of a law which, though duly passed by the legislature, still hangs in the wind of national opinion. It would be wrong, indeed, to exaggerate the guidance of the electorate into a universal system of mandate, referendum, initiative, and recall. But it would equally be wrong to exaggerate the independent function of parliament into its total and absolute independence of the electorate. We have to think of the whole general process of discussion, in which each stage and each organ has its own business, and yet all the stages and organs are interconnected and interdependent. It is easy to take one stage and its organ, to isolate that organ from the process of stages and the nexus of organs in which it is engaged, and to proclaim that, so isolated, it must be free and even sovereign. We can thus worship the free and sovereign Party (as many do, in fact if not in name), or the free and sovereign Electorate, or the free

and that though the sovereignty proclaimed for lip-service in France is the sovereignty of the nation, and not that of its parliament. There is indeed a sense in which parliament is sovereign ; but it is in a qualified sense—and indeed, we may even say, a doubly qualified sense.

In the first place parliament is sovereign, or competent, or free (whatever the word we use), in its own particular sphere, and for its own particular function, under the general system of division of labour on which government by discussion necessarily proceeds. Selected by the electorate, and authorized or instructed by it, in general terms, for a particular purpose, it exists for the due discharge of its purpose. The purpose is that of translating the programme endorsed by the electorate into rules of law, so far as it can be run into the mould of law, and, for the rest, of controlling the spirit in which the executive government acts (whether in enforcing rules of law, or in exercising the discretionary authority which lies outside the area of rules) in order that it may conform with the general trend of the programme. A parliament exists in order to discuss and enact laws, and in order to discuss and guide the general conduct of executive government ; but it does not exist in order to govern, and if it assumes the character of a government, it will be going beyond the generality which is its nature and trespassing on the sphere of the particular.

In the second place a parliament, even in the area of its particular purpose or function, does not stand in isolation and cannot act alone. It is part of a general system of discussion, connected with other parts ; and it must look before and after—before, to the electorate ; after, to the executive government. If we speak of the sovereignty of parliament, we have to remember that it is exercised in conjunction with two colleagues. On the one hand parliament must maintain some sort of harmony, and act in some sort of contact, with the electorate. A parliament which has lost contact with the electorate is a parliament which is virtually *functus officio* : it has dropped out of the general current of national discussion into a backwater ; and it must be brought back into the current, by the machinery of dissolution and a new election, before it can act in its proper office and perform its proper function. On the other hand, and equally, parliament must necessarily act in conjunction with the executive government.

rules of law, the minority seek to incorporate elements from their programme into the translation. If the majority seek to bring the general spirit of administration into harmony with their programme, the minority also seek to qualify that spirit in order that it may have some degree of harmony with *their* programme. The existence of differences at every stage, and above all at the parliamentary stage, is the necessary condition of the continuance of discussion.

These differences and this division of parliament must necessarily be organized : they would defeat discussion if they ran wild : indeed we may even say that, for purposes of real debate, they must be organized in two sides, and two sides only—the side of the Ayes and the side of the Noes. When we have more than two parties, as we in this country have had for many years, such an organization into two sides may seem difficult, or impossible. Actually, if it is difficult, it is never impossible. On the contrary—granted a cabinet, which attracts one set of parties to its side, and repels the rest to the other side—it always happens. On that condition there is always a side of the Ayes and a side of the Noes—a side of the Ins, and a side of the Outs—even if either of the sides contains a number of parties. The difficulty (and it is a genuine difficulty) is the fluidity of the two sides when each of them is an amalgam of parties. Each tends to dissolve and reconstitute itself, for more or less personal reasons ; and thus a process of sustained debate based on genuine differences of principle may be turned into temporary passages of arms determined largely by differences of personal interest. Debate and discussion suffer if there are not two permanent groups in parliament divided by permanent and impersonal differences. But if they suffer under a system of impermanent and variable groups, they do not disappear. They disappear only when a single group acquires a monopoly of parliament. Better two permanent groups than two which are shifting and kaleidoscopic. But better two groups, however shifting, than one single and solitary group.

§ 6. THE CABINET : ITS RELATIONS TO PARLIAMENT AND THE ELECTORATE

The furthest and last stage of discussion is the stage of the Cabinet, or executive government. Here discussion passes

power of guidance to the point of evicting a cabinet which does not agree with its views of the general spirit in which administration should be conducted. Cabinet may push its power of guidance to the point of dissolving a parliament which will not accept its views in regard to some urgent problem of administration or some pressing need of legislation.

This system of reciprocal control between cabinet and parliament is not universally, or perhaps even generally, accepted as a necessary element in the operation of parliamentary institutions. On the contrary, a total or one-sided subordination of the executive to parliament, which in turn implies a similar subordination of parliament to the electorate, is often held to be the essence of true democracy. By a natural and attractive logic, which makes the authority of each stage derivative from that of the preceding stage, and therefore subordinate to it, it is argued that just as parliament is the nominee and delegate of the electorate, so the cabinet is the nominee and delegate of parliament. Authority is thus conceived as a waterfall, which descends in a series of cascades; and it is assumed, on the strength of this conception, that whatever exists below must necessarily have come from above, and that whatever is done below must necessarily be done by virtue of a power delegated or derived from above. If we accept this conception, which has the merit of an apparent simplicity, we shall hold that all authority, both legislative and executive, belongs to the electorate : that it is then devolved or delegated by the electorate to a subordinate parliament—not without reservations in favour of the continued exercise of some sort of 'direct' legislative power by the electorate ; and that it is then further devolved or delegated by this subordinate parliament to a still more subordinate cabinet—but, once more, not without reservations and the imposition of conditions.

We must challenge, however, the whole of this picture of the descending waterfall, the series of cascades, and the hierarchy of superior and subordinate powers. We must think in terms of ascending rather than of descending. Discussion climbs to new heights : at each new height a fresh function and a more intensive quality of discussion emerge ; with each fresh function and each increase of intensity a fresh organ is required. The principle at work is that of a complex division of labour among

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conduct of day-to-day administration. Equally the cabinet cannot discharge its function of administration without the power of dissolving a parliament which might otherwise be tempted, and might succumb to the temptation, to encroach upon its sphere. A parliament which was itself immune from eviction, but could freely evict the cabinet, would inevitably usurp administrative functions by seeking to control the details of finance and to bring each sphere of administration under the purview and the direction of its committees.

But there is also a third and further reason for the exercise of the power of dissolution by cabinet. Such a power is necessary to maintain the free flow of the whole current of discussion through all its stages and organs. The cabinet's power of dissolution is not merely a matter of its own relations to parliament. It is also a matter of the relations of both cabinet and parliament to the electorate. Parliament, as we have seen, must maintain some permanent contact and harmony with the electorate, in order that discussion may circulate freely from stage to stage of its process. If parliament drops out of contact with the electorate and becomes a body which is stagnant and land-locked, its dissolution becomes a necessity in order to restore the contact and renew the flow. That the cabinet should freely decide whether the contact of parliament and the electorate has been broken, and that, if it so decides, it should send parliament back to the electorate, may well seem a very large thing. Created a master for its own function, it turns upon its creator, and, ending its life, it ends—at any rate for the time being—its power of performing its function. But this sweeping action of cabinet has its own large justification. The cabinet, too, has its contact with the electorate: indeed we may say that it must have direct and constant contact with the electorate, in order to draw the strength and support which it needs for its work. It depends upon parliament; but it also depends on the stages and organs of discussion which precede parliament. It depends, in a word, upon the whole system, and not upon any one part. It is its business, as the last stage and organ of the system, to assure itself that there is a free course through the whole. A cabinet cannot be fully competent for its work unless it is in touch with a parliament which in turn is in touch with an electorate which, in turn, is in touch with the

life and the thought of parties. In this interconnected system, the first stage runs through till it reaches the last, and the last runs back till it reaches the first. Party is operative not only in the stage of making programmes and selecting candidates, but also in the subsequent stages of electorate, parliament, and cabinet ; and conversely the cabinet is operative not only in the final stage of active administration, but also in all the preceding stages. There is thus a sense in which we may say that the final stage resumes, and recapitulates in itself, the characteristics of those which have gone before. It is this 'recapitulatory' character of cabinet which explains its importance and justifies its power.

As one of the stages and organs in the system of government by discussion, the cabinet acts and administers by the method of discussion. There is a famous French phrase (it may almost be called a Cæsarian phrase) of the year 1800 : *administrer est le fait d'un seul ; délibérer est le fait de plusieurs*. The cabinet system, following an opposite line (because it springs from an inspiration which is the opposite of Cæsarism), makes administration depend on the deliberation and the discussion of a body of colleagues. But the cabinet is not merely immersed in its own interior discussions : it has to play its part in a far wider area of discussion. Just as there is a sense in which parliament is not singular, but plural—not one body, but two—and just as this sense explains the capacity of parliament for debate, so there is a sense in which the cabinet also is not one, but two. Every cabinet, under the working of the party system, is confronted by some sort of anti-cabinet of the leaders of the Opposition. It depends on the particular formation of the party system in each country how definite is the organization, and how strong is the influence, of this anti-cabinet. But it will always be there ; and it will always sit, equally with the cabinet itself, in parliament. A cabinet is thus committed to a constant duel of discussion with a constant rival ; and every cabinet *in esse* is confronted and criticized by (and, as we shall have reason to observe in a later stage of our argument, it will tend to seek a compromise with) a cabinet *in posse*. We need not fear the tyranny of cabinet, which may seem to be involved in the idea of its recapitulatory character, so long as the tyrant has always an anti-tyrant at his side. Nor can we desire any better guarantee

every sort of social object. Behind political parties, or rather by their side (for political parties, as we have seen, are themselves groups freely formed in the area of society), there stand a multitude of social organizations ; and each of these is occupied not only in discussing and advocating its own particular purpose—charitable, religious, educational, economic, or whatever it may be—but also in discussing the relation of that purpose to the general life of the community and the political activity of the State. The activity of discussion which animates a self-governing State is fed from many fountains. It is not only a matter of parties and parliaments ; it is also a matter of religious societies and church congresses, of educational bodies and conferences, of trade unions and their general congress—of every gathering-ground of thought which, collecting its own immediate waters, can pour them ultimately as a tributary into the general current of national discussion. Confining ourselves to the four stages of discussion which are pre-eminent—party, electorate, parliament, and cabinet—we may notice that two principles are involved in the general system which moves through these stages. One is the principle of division of labour, or differentiation of function. Each organ, in each stage, has its own particular work to do ; and it must neither abnegate its duty nor seek to extend its province. It is a necessity of the system that each of the organs should value its function highly, and should act as if it were cardinal ; but it is also a danger of the system that each of the organs should magnify its function unduly, and should act as if it were supreme. Party, because it is the beginning, may claim to be also the end ; it may turn itself from being a part into something of the nature of a whole, something totalitarian, which seeks to dominate and determine the action of the other organs. But party, though it is perhaps the most powerful, is not the only encroacher. The zeal of its house may eat up a parliament ; and a passion for the rights of the people may consume an electorate. There is all the more need for remembering the principle of division of labour. We may even say that the old idea of ' separation of powers ' has again to be enunciated, in a new form and with a new application. It is not only necessary to distinguish the judicial from the executive and the legislative power. It is also necessary to distinguish the power of party from that of the electorate, the powers of

organs (for we cannot really have all the organs doing all things simultaneously) as the one general and omniscient authority. We shall, in a word, end in the autocracy either of party, or of parliament, or of the cabinet.

It is better, and indeed it is essential, to think simultaneously in terms both of division and of co-operation. We may be plunged in some logical difficulties. We may seem first to enunciate, and then to deny, the doctrine of separate functions. In particular, we may seem to be guilty of first saying that general rules of legislation belong to one stage and organ, and particular acts of administration to another organ and stage, and then of confessing that the dikes are down and the waters interused. But these logical difficulties are more apparent than real. They only arise if we may make the assumption that each stage must be exclusively concerned with a separate thing, or a separate set of things, which is then altogether excluded from the province of other stages. That is not the assumption which underlies the system of stages. Each is concerned with the same fundamental issues ; and the real assumption which we have to make about the difference of the stages is that each is concerned with the same issues in a different form, and each discusses them from a different point of view. Just because the forms and the points of view are different, and because each is necessary to the solution of the issues, they must necessarily be combined. Electorate, parliament, cabinet—all three can bring discussion to bear in a different form and from different points of view, and all three should do so separately ; but since they are all discussing the same issues, they must all be interconnected. The electorate, on the one hand, will discuss general programmes of legislation : the cabinet, on the other, will discuss a specific draft of particular legislation, with a special reference to practical detail and administrative considerations : parliament, as a middle term, will discuss and decide the actual enactment of a law, with special reference to its general form as a set of rules or norms, but also with some reference both to its place in the whole programme which has been endorsed by the electorate and to its administrative effects and consequences as they are presented by the cabinet. The difference involved is not so much a difference between election, legislation, and administration, considered as separate spheres of action : it is

a difference between the electoral, the parliamentary, and the cabinet forms of discussion—the electoral, the parliamentary, and the cabinet points of view—in contributing to the total solution of the same fundamental issues.

§ 8. THE RECONCILIATION OF DIFFERENCES IN A SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT BY DISCUSSION, AND ITS MATERIAL CONDITIONS

We have dealt with the problem of the area, the method, and the organs and stages of discussion. It remains to turn to the other problem which still confronts us—that of the conditions of a true reconciliation between the opposing views which emerge in the course of discussion.¹ It may seem as if we had already dealt with this problem of reconciliation. We have already seen, in dealing with the relations of the different organs of discussion, that these organs have not only to be differentiated, but also to be connected and reconciled with one another. But there is a deeper sense of the idea of reconciliation, which has still to be elicited. The system of government by discussion not only implies separate organs and functions, divided and yet united: it also implies a whole community, divided against itself by different and conflicting points of view, and yet—if it is a community and is to remain a community—united none the less. Division emerges at each stage and in each organ of the process of discussion. We begin with the division of parties, which may vary indeed from country to country in depth and trenchancy, but always remains a division. We pass to the division of the electorate among the adherents of the different parties—a division which sometimes may be easy and tolerant; a division which, at other times (when the grouping of constituencies and the methods of voting are such as to exacerbate the claims of party, and still more when parties become rival religions of a new millenium rather than different schemes for adorning the Sparta we actually inhabit), may become accentuated and bitter; but a division which, in some form and to some extent, must always and everywhere be present. We proceed to the division of parliament among the members chosen to represent the divisions of the electorate and the parties behind the divisions. Parliaments differ from country to country: some have more of the sense of their own corporate unity, and

¹ See above, p. 37, *ad initium*.

What are the conditions which are necessary, in a normal and settled community which governs itself on the basis of discussion, in order that it may be one as well as many—one behind its parties ; one behind the divisions of its electorate ; one behind the groups of its parliament ; one behind the difference between Government and Opposition ? There are some conditions which we may call, in a sense, material.¹ National homogeneity is such a condition. There must be some accepted language of intercourse, and some common stock of historical tradition, before there can be any discussion which is conducted in common terms. 'Free institutions', as J. S. Mill said long ago, 'are next to impossible in a country made up of different nationalities.' Some measure of social homogeneity is another condition of the material order. If a country made up of different nationalities has no common medium of discussion, the same is true of a country made up of two different nations of rich and poor, unable to comprehend one another, or to speak to one another across a gulf of difference. The ideal discussion is that between equals ; and a community in which discussion moves easily must also be a community animated by a spirit of social equality. How far equality should go—whether democracy, for its full play, requires the socialization of wealth, in order that all may debate on a level field, free from the adventitious handicaps of poverty and riches ; or whether it only demands a more equal distribution of private property and a more diffused system of private ownership ; or whether, again, it can work under *any* scheme of economics, provided only that equal opportunities of education are open to all, and all classes can equally express their thoughts and their aspirations—these are questions which are vital, and to which, at a later stage, we must address our argument. Here we can only note that, in the present stage of our general social thought, it is impossible to give any agreed answer. Men are still divided on the fundamental issue which is involved in these questions. Is economics the moving finger of destiny, and are human beings

¹ Material, that is to say, in the sense that they (i.e. national homogeneity and social homogeneity) imply a definite matter—the matter of a common language, or the matter of a common standard of living. It is in this sense that I have distinguished them from the more formal and less material (but even more essential) conditions of Agreement to Differ and acceptance of the Majority Principle.

to differ', intending only to suggest that personal friendship must not be broken by the continuance of a difference of opinion. It includes, indeed, this elementary virtue (a virtue difficult to attain, since we are all of us prone to take the rejection of our opinions as a rejection of ourselves; and yet a virtue which may also become a vice, if we surrender the depth and tenacity of our convictions to the claims of social convenience); but it also includes a further element. It means that the members of a community agree—by a tacit agreement, made under the stress of its impact—to cluster round some great single issue, *pro et contra*. There is at once unity or agreement, in concentrating upon that issue, and difference or disagreement, in regard to the attitude to be adopted and the policy to be pursued towards that issue. A centripetal force and a centrifugal force are both at work. It is the centripetal force which we are apt to neglect when we think of government by discussion. We see the differences of attitude: we forget the unity of the issue. But the concentration of the general attention of all the community upon one agreed issue is a fact which is prior to the differences of attitude. It is also the cardinal fact of government by discussion. Political discussion is impossible, or at any rate it is sorely vexed and troubled, when there is a multiplicity of different issues which afford no common ground for debate. Its proper working requires some single *fundamentum divisionis*.

In our own history we have always had such a 'fundamentum of division', though it has differed at different times. In 1688, and for long years afterwards, the issue was that of the succession to the throne and the position of the monarchy: by 1832 it had become the issue of the rate of change in the constitution, and more particularly, of the extension of the suffrage; to-day it has become an issue of the nature of the social structure. Our history will also teach us a further lesson. An agreement to differ does not necessarily mean an agreement to form two, and only two, camps on the issue of division. There is no uniform system of two parties running through our history; and there is nothing in the general logic of a system of government by discussion which demands that the parties to the discussion should be ranged in two camps. It is a far more important thing that there should be only one issue than that there should be only two different opinions in

only, before we give our consent to the validity of the majority principle. We shall require the extrinsic fact of number : we shall also require the intrinsic fact of value. But in that case, and if we thus import dualism into the majority principle, we soon begin to find that we have only escaped from one set of difficulties in order to fall into another.

We are confronted, in the first place, by the difficulty of the standard of value. By what criterion are we to measure the value of any particular will of a majority ? 'Sanity' is a vague criterion. The criterion of 'generality' which Rousseau sought to apply, when he argued in favour of a 'general will' which was general in virtue of having the quality and the value of being directed to the general interest, is a more definite criterion. But even if we have some definite criterion of value, there are further difficulties which still await us (as Rousseau's own struggles are sufficient to show) when once we have imported dualism into the majority principle. Who is the final judge, superior to the decision of the majority, who will apply the criterion of value to its will ? If, when the judge is found and the criterion applied, the will of the majority is discovered to possess less value, and the will of the minority greater, must the will of the minority prevail ? To ask these two questions is to realize at once that the importation of the idea of quality, over and above the idea of quantity, and *as something separate from the idea of quantity*, may involve the destruction of the majority principle, and, *pro tanto*, the negation of democracy. To enthrone a super-judge who may in turn enthrone a minority is to abandon democratic institutions.

Yet we cannot abandon the idea of value ; we cannot enthrone the majority just because it is a majority and superior in quantity. We have to find some way of linking value and quantity together as things inseparably connected, and not as separable factors which may quarrel and collide. There is one way of seeking to link quantity and value which we need only mention in order to dismiss. It is a way which we have already had reason to explore. According to this way of thinking, quantity is linked with value, and inherently possesses value, because it is linked with force, and because it possesses force. The will of the majority has the right to prevail because, if recourse were had to the *ultima ratio* of force, it could show that it had the might which would enable it to prevail. It is

when it has been attained in a spirit, and when it has thus attained a content or substance, which does justice to the whole of the community and satisfies its general and universal character. The *spirit* which does justice to the whole of the community is a spirit which induces the majority to make concessions to the views of the minority, at the same time that it asks the minority to make the greater concession of accepting, or at any rate tolerating, the trend of its own view. The *substance* or content of any majority-will which does justice to the whole community is a substance or content which incorporates elements drawn from the whole. Granted such a spirit, resulting in such a substance—granted, in other words, the principle of compromise—we can believe that the majority is able to add quality to quantity not as something separable which has to be separately judged, but as something which is integrally connected with the fact and the action of quantity. If the spirit of discussion—which is a spirit of giving as well as of taking, and of learning as well as of teaching—is present from beginning to end, there is genuine reason for thinking that the opinion of the majority, intrinsically and inherently, will possess quality and value. Quality will not be a separable attribute, which may be or may not be present, and the presence or absence of which has to be determined by some judge who stands outside and above the process of discussion. It will be inherently and essentially connected with quantity.

In the first place the opinion of the majority, considered in its original form and before it has entered into conflict with the opinion of a minority or the opinions of minorities, will itself be based on an internal discussion and an internal compromise between the different views of the different elements of the majority. It will already have in its favour the fact that it rests on a broader basis, and is a larger synthesis, than the other opinion or opinions. In the second place, when discussion is engaged between the formed opinion of the majority and the formed opinion of the minority, the breadth of the opinion which has already been attained by the majority will be broadened further by the inclusion of new elements, or the modification of old elements, in proportion to the strength of the case which is urged by the other side and the skill of the advocacy with which it is urged. The ultimate result will be an opinion which is broadly based not only on the number of

one-sided expression of will which cannot be translated into effect because it is opposed by other and similarly one-sided expressions. If such a compromise has been attempted and attained, the will of the majority will be more than formal : it will be an operative and effective will, because the minority is ready to tolerate, or even support, a decision in which it has had its say and can recognize some of its handiwork.

If majority-rule is combined with agreement to differ and compromise, there will be no tyranny of the majority. The majority will not only agree to differ from the minority—tolerating, and even encouraging, the existence of opposition because opposition is necessary to the health of its own existence. It will also make concessions to the views of the minority. It will be passive as well as active, consenting to receive suggestions and to acquiesce in demands, even while it seeks to carry through its policy and to realize its programme. The majority is not always active ; and the minority is far from being always passive. It has been said that ‘ minorities must always suffer ’. It is true that they must suffer ; but if they *always* suffered, and their fate was nothing but suffering, there would be little reason for their existence or prospect of their continuance. They act as well as suffer ; and in the same way, if to a less extent, majorities suffer as well as act. The intransigence which vindicates all action for the majority, and assigns nothing but suffering to minorities, is fatal to the essence of democracy, because it is fatal to discussion. It is an intransigence based upon the conviction that truth is a monopoly, and that a single side alone possesses ‘ the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth ’. When that conviction is entertained, there is no point in discussion and no reason for democracy. As soon as any political party begins to believe that it is the sole possessor of an exclusive truth, democracy is already dying or dead ; and it is only a formal registration of its death if such a party proceeds to act in the logic of its belief, and to suppress other parties on the ground that they believe in falsehood, ‘ and there is no truth in them ’. There cannot be any discussion, or any system of government by discussion, except upon the assumption that truth dwells in more than one habitation, and that its elements have to be collected, and not only collected but reconciled, before it can be enthroned.

he right of referendum, and whatever else can be made a matter of formal legal right. But when constitutional law has done its utmost, it leaves a sphere which needs control, and yet cannot be controlled by legal rule. Discussion, by its very nature and in its own essence, transcends the scope of legal control. What it cannot transcend is the rules of its own inner logic and its own inward ethics—or rather it can only transcend them at the cost of annihilating itself. Discussion which refuses any control becomes civil war; and civil war is the end of discussion. What we have now to learn—in these days of great national parties, counting their millions of adherents, and tending, by their very weight, to carry discussion to the uttermost consequence—is how to practise that observance of self-imposed rules of political controversy which was a comparatively easy lesson for the old, small, and more or less aristocratic parties (playing politics as a game, and ready to follow rules of the game), but is a far more difficult lesson in a time of issues far more vital, debated in a far greater arena, under the blazing light of a new publicity.

Numbers are terrifying things. Our terror of an electorate so numerous will be augmented if we regard it as the hub and the pivot of the whole democratic system—the fountain and origin of the will of the State : the maker and master of all the organs of democracy. Fears will diminish, and they may even become hopes instead of fears, if we regard the electorate, on the lines of our previous argument, as itself only one of the organs of democracy, or one of the stages in the democratic process, similar to the other stages or organs, and co-operating in its measure, and according to its function, with the rest. Even so, and though we may thus conceive it as simply one of the parts of the system, aided and even guided by the other parts, the electorate still remains a great and essential part of a rational system of discussion ; and we may ask ourselves whether an organ apparently so unwieldy as the modern electorate, and acting on the level of intelligence which may presumably be expected from such a mass, can properly participate in a system so delicate and subtle. It is perhaps impossible to give a dispassionate and scientific answer to such a question. If the electorate votes in accordance with our own predilections, we call it wise : if it does otherwise, we use other language. But if we seek to lift ourselves above our predilections, and to see the electorate ‘steadily and whole’, we may say that, tested by the historical experience of its action, it can give a great and simple answer on great and simple issues, and that, tried by the way in which it discharges its own particular function of election, it can judge effectively the general quality of the men who seek its suffrage.

We may add two other reflections. In the first place, the use and the value of the electorate are not to be judged merely by its knowledge. Whether the electorate be wise or foolish, and whether it has knowledge or is ignorant, it is still a matter of vital importance to learn what it feels. Popular feeling, in itself, is an integral factor and an essential element in the whole process of government by discussion (as it is, indeed, in any process of government) ; and in the absence of any ascertained knowledge of that feeling, such as the general vote and only the general vote can give, the whole process labours in the dark. An inspired autocrat may govern by intuition and delation, in the light of his own guess and the information of his secret agents about the state of public feeling ; a rational

It has coincided, finally, with an era of scientific inventions which have contributed signally, if not intentionally, to the technique of discussion, and which now make it possible for an electorate of 30 millions to be linked together as closely as an electorate of a million was linked a hundred years ago. Every advance in the means of physical, and still more of mental, communication enables an increasingly greater circle to be formed for common deliberation and common action. We do not yet know the ultimate effects of the invention of broadcasting. Already it enables an audience of millions to listen together to reasoned argument. Already, by presenting that audience with reasoned arguments on *both* sides, it is familiarizing millions with the idea that there is something to be said on either side, and that truth is a thing which belongs exclusively to neither. This is an idea essential to discussion, and therefore essential to democracy ; and we may thus comfort ourselves by reflecting that if electorates have broadened far beyond the dreams of the Whigs of 1832, the mental resources at their disposal have broadened even further.

But we should be over-hasty if we believed in the perfection of man because he had at his service new instruments of perfection. While new instruments develop, old instruments, though they are still necessary, and even increasingly necessary, may decline. The Press is an example. It can be a singularly valuable instrument of discussion, collecting and clarifying public opinion, providing an open forum of debate, and serving as an institution of democracy. In our own country, from the Reform Bill of 1832 down to the end of the nineteenth century, it performed these functions admirably. It is not clear that it is performing them equally well to-day, either in England or elsewhere. The spread of popular education has been accompanied by the rise of popular papers supposed to be addressed to a new reading public, but hardly worthy of the public to which they are addressed. The Press has been largely removed from the realm of politics to that of business : business methods, involving the mass-production of commodities which are immediately and superficially attractive, have been applied to the newspaper ; business interests have tended to determine the purpose and the policy of its conduct. The change in the character of the Press, or rather of part of

are needed ; and they may agree and serve one another, if they may also pull different ways. Instinct and reflex action are economies of time ; and if they are linked to the service of reason, they may serve to leave reason more free for its own essential work. The danger arises when they become substitutes for reason instead of auxiliaries.

§ 2. ELECTORAL POWERS AND METHODS : PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION

The growth of the electorate in size has not only been accompanied by new mental developments, some favourable and some more dubious. It has also been accompanied by new claims on its behalf. The greater its increase in size, the greater, it may be argued, is the power which it is able to exercise and the claim which it may justly advance. . . . It may equally be argued, on the other side, that the greater the electorate, the greater is the difficulty of its operation and the less the demand which we are entitled to make upon it. The small electorate may be able not only to elect, but also to undertake other functions : the great electorate, at any rate while it is still new and feeling its way, will be wise if it confines itself to doing the one essential thing to the best of its ability. . . . The former of these arguments is the more obvious, though not necessarily the truer ; and in our own days the introduction of universal suffrage has in many countries been accompanied, or followed, by the introduction of institutions such as the initiative and referendum, and of ideas such as the mandate and recall. In the wave of democratic feeling which followed the end of the war of 1914-18—partly due to the democratic propaganda of the victors, and partly to reaction among the vanquished against their old and authoritarian governments—these accompaniments or sequels were common in the new constitutions which were then created in Central and Eastern Europe. Of an earlier date, though attaining a wider diffusion after the war, was another institution, designed, or at any rate calculated, to enhance the claims and the powers of the electorate. This was the institution of Proportional Representation.

Proportional representation differs from institutions such as the referendum and the initiative. It does not involve any right of the electorate over and above the essential right of

intended in turn to play their substantial parts in the subsequent course of discussion. The emphasis which is laid by the method on the process of recording the voice of the electorate, considered in itself and considered by itself, tends to connect it, after all, with the institutions of the referendum and the initiative. Proportional representation may be concerned with the voice of the electorate only in the moment of election; but the weight which it assigns to that voice at that moment leads easily to claims for a similar weight at later moments. And while the electorate may thus be exalted, parliament and the cabinet may be simultaneously depressed—the former by being made too tessellated and balanced for effective debate, and the latter by becoming too composite, and too much of a coalition, for any effective decision.

In the second place, the institution of the multiple-member constituency, which is a necessary means to the general aim of proportional representation, tends to isolate the electorate from the member (or rather members) of parliament whom it has chosen, and thus to prevent that contact and interplay of the different organs which is part of the system of government by discussion. The single-member constituency may expose a member more to the pressure of his constituents (though the danger of such pressure will be eliminated if the system of parliamentary procedure, and the method of appointments to the public service, render it impossible for a member to move for grants or press for posts on behalf of his constituency); but at any rate it ensures an easy contact and interplay.

In the third place, the attempt to secure an exact representation of shades of electoral opinion, by methods which may range from the transferable vote for particular candidates to compulsory voting for a party list, has the effect of confusing—rather than of clarifying—the voice of the electorate on large plain issues. Instead of giving a great and simple answer of 'Yes' or 'No' to a great and simple question, the electorate may return a series of qualified answers, coupled with a number of answers to entirely different questions which may have been raised under cover of proportional representation by 'single-question' groups. In this way, and because it thus leads to the returning of a confused answer, proportional representation may again, and from a different point of view, become connected with the institution of the referendum.

with an informal organization and scanty and casual resources. They were loose bodies of common opinion—sometimes, on an even more rudimentary level of development, they were simply bodies of common sentiment for a ‘side’ and its colour—rather than organized associations with their own officers, their own finances, and their own specific purposes of programme-making and election-managing. In France to-day (except for the highly organized parties of the Left), the political parties in the constituencies, as distinct from the political groups in parliament, are still of this loose nature. In most other countries the last sixty or seventy years—beginning with the Reform Bill of 1867 in England, the end of the Civil War in North America, and the introduction of manhood suffrage in Germany under the constitution of 1871—have witnessed a great extension and consolidation of party. The beginning of the great electorate instantly affected the character of political parties. The electorate needed organization; and parties began to organize themselves for the organization of the electorate. In England the very year of the Second Reform Bill saw the beginnings of this movement both on the Liberal and on the Conservative side. In October 1867 the Birmingham Liberal Association, the most active of all the local party organizations, was reconstituted on a more representative basis, with regular subscriptions, regular officers, and a regularly elected committee; and ten years later, in 1877, the Birmingham model became the parent of a National Liberal Federation, covering the country at large and constructed on similar lines. In November 1867, the Conservative party had already formed a National Union of local Conservative Associations; and by 1883, under the inspiration of Lord Randolph Churchill, the National Union was beginning to bid for the same position on the Conservative side which the National Federation, led by Joseph Chamberlain, had been seeking since 1877 to vindicate for itself on the Liberal side.

The initial claim of the National Liberal Federation, which was popularly called the Caucus,¹ was remarkable. The Federation was not only to formulate policy, and to present to the electorate candidates who were pledged to that policy.

¹ The term ‘caucus’, which began to come into use in 1878, was a misuse of an American word, which signified a private meeting of party-managers. The English caucus was not private, and it was not a meeting of party-managers: it was a public organization, representative in character.

the rights and claims of other democratic institutions, they have tended to assimilate themselves to one another in a common insistence upon their own claims and rights. Not only cabinet and parliament, but also the electorate, have been brought into subordination to the primary zest of

party.

It is perhaps the exaltation of party, and of the disciplines and loyalties of party, which has been the greatest of the internal difficulties of democracy, at any rate in the field of pure politics, during the present century. Whatever proportional representation may be capable of becoming under conditions less passionately partisan, it has not served to mitigate the passions of conflicting parties with which it has, by the fate of its history, been doomed to co-operate. On the contrary it may even be said to have served to exacerbate such passions. Proportional representation has helped, indeed, to prevent swollen majorities and attenuated minorities : but it has not helped to produce a spirit of compromise between majority and minority, or even to produce the definite majority and the definite minority which are the necessary bases of such compromise. Subdued to the material in which it has had to work, and adapted to the ends and ambitions of conflicting groups, it has been used to give each group its uttermost ounce of political representation, and to divorce party still further from party by making each concentrate its attention on securing for itself the greatest possible yield from the electorate. Under these conditions the electorate, instead of gaining new power, loses its dignity and its function. It becomes a passive field, divided into proprietary party plots which are intensively cultivated to yield the maximum of return. There is no room for a body of independent electors, sitting loose to strict parties, and free to record general movements of opinion by moving their votes from time to time. The electorate tends to be fixed in allegiances ; and the play of political opinion tends to be fixed in rigid bodies of party belief. A method intended to give the electorate greater freedom may thus give it less ; and a system intended to increase the possibility of compromise may be used to foster the spirit of intransigence.

It would be folly to attribute to a method of voting any large share in producing the difficulties which confront the

working of democracy. Political technique has its importance ; but the men who conduct politics, and the spirit in which they conduct them, have a vastly greater importance. The emergence of party leaders who set their whole faith in party, and the power of such leaders to attract and retain the absolute allegiance of followings which imitate and accept their faith, are things which matter more than the technical methods by which parties dominate the electorate, or even than the schemes by which parties organize themselves. Party satisfies deep human instincts for the stimulus of personal leadership and the warmth of personal contact. It meets emotional needs. Men in the mass have a natural desire for some system of ' sides ' to which they can pledge their loyalty. The desire is accentuated by the growth of great populations ; but it is also frustrated and balked by the growth of impersonal institutions (alike in the field of politics and in that of economics) which accompanies the growth of great populations. The development of party ' sides ' and party loyalties releases and satisfies balked desires. The rush of emotion into parties, both among leaders and followers, is one of the great causes of their modern prominence. It is because they satisfy emotions that they can readily be regarded, and treated, as ends in themselves. They then cease to be parts and organs of a rational system of discussion. They become emotional absolutes.

§ 4. PARTY : ALTERATION OF ITS CONCEPTION AND PRACTICE

A number of causes have conspired to bring party into the foreground, and to give it priority over the other organs of democracy, particularly in those countries in which the whole system of democracy was new, and where there were no established traditions of parliament and cabinet to balance and counteract the growing vogue of party organization and party feeling. The numerical increase of the electorate has provided new scope and new material for the manipulation of party. The emergence of deep economic issues has produced ardent and disciplined Labour parties ; and their ardour and discipline have infected the other parties by a natural and inevitable contagion. The method and technique of proportional representation has been an effect, rather than a cause, of the growing importance of party ; but it is an effect which

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meeting of members of parliament, held before a division which is to be taken in parliament, seeks to determine by its vote the votes to be given by each member in the division, the result is similar—though the fact that the body dictating to members of parliament is itself composed of members makes a difference in the position.¹

The tendency of parties to claim authority as organs of State is general. Even in France, where the political parties in the country at large are generally loose, and the political parties in the Chamber are often separate formations, made in the Chamber itself and relating only to the Chamber, the national party conferences of some of the parties have tended to assume new powers in regard to the Chamber and the Cabinet. But the claims and the activities of party can go beyond the function of an organ of the State. A party may claim to be not only an organ of State, but a State. It may go even farther, and claim to be *the* State. This is the final consummation of the zeal of party, and it is a consummation which has already been attained in some of the great States of Europe.

Parties, we should all admit, are necessary means of democracy. But the means may become the end. This is what happens when electorate, parliaments, and cabinets are all, in their different ways, subordinated to the exigencies and brought under the control of party. In the same way and by the same process that the means becomes the end, the part may become a whole, and assume what is nowadays called a 'total' or 'totalitarian' character. There are two stages in the development by which the part or party becomes the whole. In the first stage each party turns itself into a whole State (with the whole apparatus of a State), but continues to exist side by side with other parties in a State which is thus composed of a number of States. Not content with being an 'emotional absolute', party becomes an active and organized absolute. Each party professes a *Weltanschauung*, a general set of social and political ideas which covers and colours the whole

¹ The question may be raised whether there is any difference between the control of a member by the party whip and control by the vote of a party meeting. The answer may be given that the vote of the party meeting in parliament generally implies the ultimate authority of the vote of a party conference outside parliament, while the control of the party whip only implies the leadership of the cabinet (or the anti-cabinet, as the case may be) within the walls of parliament.

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from his throne during the Nika revolt of 532.¹ The *parte Guelfa*, led by its *capitano*, dominated the politics of Florence, and monopolized political office, during a large part of the fourteenth century. Even farther back in history, in the city states of classical Greece and in ancient Rome, we may remember the hot party feuds of democrats and oligarchs, of *populares* and *optimates*. There is nothing very new under the sun ; but if we are repeating the past, we are at any rate repeating it with a greater and more systematic logic and perhaps with a less fury of hot vendettas and bloody proscription (though such things are far from being entirely absent) than marked, let us say, the party triumph of Sulla, and his temporary institution of a one-party State at Rome, some two thousand years ago.

§ 5. PARTY : ITS RELATION TO THE GROWTH OF PROFESSIONALISM IN POLITICS

Those who believe in the economic interpretation of history will ascribe these recurrent exacerbations of party to the recurrent eruption of economic motives and economic animosities. It would be a folly to deny the influence of such motives and feelings ; and we must turn, in the issue, to examine their operation and their effect. But parties are primarily political phenomena ; and the primary causes of their behaviour and development are political causes. Some of the political causes which have accentuated party—the numerical increase of the electorate, and the tendency of parties, in a period of growing organization, to organize more elaborately their activities and their methods—have already been mentioned. Mention has also been made of the half political, half psychological (or, as a modern Italian might simply call it, the ‘demographic’) factor of great urbanized populations, which find in party and party loyalty a substitute for the old loyalties of the countryside and the soil. But there are other and simpler political

¹ History repeats itself in curious ways. The Blue faction in Constantinople sought to distinguish themselves by wearing a peculiar uniform. “Thus they discarded the use of the razor, and wore full Persian beards, allowed their back hair to grow long in imitation of the Huns, and donned richly embroidered tunics furnished with sleeves which bellied out in an extraordinary fashion from the wrist up to the shoulder.” Some of them carried weapons regularly, ostensibly to chastise the Greens, but often for the real purpose of robbery and murder. See W. G. Holmes, *The Age of Justinian and Theodora*, II, p. 454.

increased business and the prolonged sessions of legislative bodies, which made demands on the time of their members that could only be generally met on the basis of full-time paid professional work. On the other hand it was the necessary concomitant of the democratic process of enfranchisement ; for it was impossible to secure a true representation of the enfranchised masses by members who were drawn from their own ranks, and were in touch with their real feelings, unless those members were secured a livelihood which enabled them to devote themselves fully to their duties of representation. But the new profession of the party politician, at any rate in its initial stages and until it has settled down on the lees, none the less constitutes one of the difficulties of contemporary democracy. It does so in two ways. In the first place, the zeal of the professional representative of party, whose life is devoted to its interests, and whose aim is the triumph of its policies, is a cause—though it is not the only cause—of that accentuation of party which imperils the balance and adjustment of democratic institutions. From one point of view professionalism in politics is not different in kind from professionalism in medicine, or engineering, or journalism ; and from this point of view it is not to be blamed—or, for that matter, praised—any more than these other forms of professionalism. Like them, it is in its nature a rendering of skilled service, which is based on training and experience, in return for remuneration. But from another point of view, there is a great difference. The doctor or engineer or journalist may press the interests and the claims of his profession ; but at the most he is only seeking to increase the prestige and the remuneration which he and the other members of his profession enjoy, in comparison with those enjoyed by the members of other professions or occupations. The professional party politician—less self-interested, but more dangerous—does not seek to increase the standing or the reward of his profession, as such, in comparison with those of other professions : he seeks to magnify the claims and the authority of his party, with which he has identified himself, against the claims and the authority of other parties, and even, in the last resort, against the claims and the authority of anything else in the State. The professionalization of party politics not only strengthens the spirit of rivalry between the different parties : it also tends to

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one of the parties in the case. Some party group, claiming a monopoly of purity and patriotism, has been the judge of other groups, and has pronounced a sentence of excommunication upon them. But there has been some real fire behind all the volume of smoke ; and there has been enough of corruption, and enough of consequent inefficiency, in many systems of professional party politics, to establish a case against them. Not that such defects are peculiar to these systems. Corruption and inefficiency are possible in any government ; they are even possible under the dictatorships which profess to save the State from them. But professional party governments, working under democratic conditions, necessarily live in the blaze of publicity, and wash their linen on the house-tops. Their scandals leap to the eye ; and there is no veil of censorship to shroud them from general view.

§ 6. LEGISLATIVE ABSOLUTISM AND THE REACTION AGAINST IT

The great electorate and the highly organized party with its system of professional politics are two of the internal political difficulties of democracy. A third, which is closely connected with both, but more particularly with the modern development of party, is the tendency of legislative bodies to encroach on the necessary powers and authority of the executive. The development of parliamentary democracy on the Continent, owing to a number of reasons, has been parliamentary (in a narrow sense) rather than democratic. It has been a development of one part of the system of democracy rather than a general development of all the parts. The example of France has been followed rather than that of England ; and the logic of formal reason, conjoined with a different set of historical memories, and more particularly with the memory of a Napoleonic executive absolutism and its perils, has installed a sovereign Chamber as the residence and essence of the principle of democratic self-government.

In England the various factors of democracy—the electorate, party, parliament, cabinet—are all as old (at any rate in the germ) as the seventeenth century, and they have all pursued a continuous evolution together since 1688. They have settled down together in a working system under which each has found its place and function ; and while they have changed, both in themselves and in their relations to one another, none

the Revolution or another. After 1870 the interpretation which made the legislative body sovereign and omnipotent eventually triumphed. There was still, indeed, through the length and breadth of France, the tradition of a strong local executive operative in the shape of the prefects of the departments, as there had always been since the time of the Napoleonic reconstruction. There was also, in the capital, a strong central body of administrative officials, as there had always been since the days of Louis XIV. But the master of both was the Assembly, which controlled them through cabinets of its own creation dependent for their existence upon its precarious favour. It was now no longer a Napoleon, but a legislative assembly, which controlled the destinies of France ; and that assembly was resolved to be master of cabinets, master of prefects, master of administrative officials, and general master of France. It stood constantly on the alert against the whole executive side of government. It professed the doctrine of separation of powers ; but it interpreted that doctrine to limit the executive—and not itself.

The example of France has affected deeply the development of continental democracy ; but similar causes have also tended to produce a similar result even independently of the example of France. The place of the executive in the system of democracy has been generally depressed, because memories of an old and indigenous régime of executive absolutism have generally inspired a fear of its ambitions. On the one hand, the legislative has felt that it was itself the true heir and successor of the old plenary executive, and it has magnified its inheritance ; on the other hand, it has watched with a jealous surveillance the operation of the new and diminished form of the executive, in order to prevent its reversion to the old type. But it has also felt, and it has also emphasized, its own independent titles to power and authority. Elected by the people, and sustained by the tributary currents of electoral opinion, a plenary legislative can claim to be the general reservoir and the central clearing-house of the whole electorate. The hive of parties, and the focus on which all the many lines of party formation converge, it can also claim to be the general bank in which all the capital of social thought is invested. The logic which seeks to find a personal *primum mobile* of the forces and factors of democracy, and is not content

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which it evoked into sympathetic but rival action ; and whatever it might have achieved if it had enjoyed a free field, it was actually doomed to work with allies who were also rivals and adversaries.

If it is vulnerable in logic, the enthroned legislature is still more vulnerable in its personnel and its actual composition. A legislature is not an abstraction or an impersonal force : it is an actual body of men, which will command as much power and authority as its members command respect and deference. Every government is grounded in opinion. If the government is conducted by a large legislature, which is not secluded in awful state, but acts on the public stage in the ordinary light of day, it must be grounded in opinion even more deeply than other forms if it is to command an equal authority. But the hold of legislatures on general opinion has not increased with their claims. It has rather decreased. Even if the quality and status of their members had remained constant, their prestige would none the less have diminished under the conditions of modern life. Publicity has a fierce glare : it breeds familiarity ; and familiarity, even if it does not breed contempt, is not the parent of deference. This is not all. The legislatures of the nineteenth century, newly risen to life, and encircled by the halo of a successful vindication of liberty, were a glory, a myth, a political cult. The legislatures of the twentieth century have been soiled by use and staled by custom : they are not a new song, and they are less grateful to the ear. We might thus have expected, in any event, some decline in the prestige of legislative bodies ; but the decline has been hastened by a growing suspicion, just or unjust, that the quality and status of the members of these bodies is not what it was. They are felt to be no longer amateurs, but the professional players of the commercialized game of party politics. They are paid ; and while we pay lip-service to the saying that the labourer is worthy of his hire, we also feel that he is somehow less worthy because he receives it. They serve, more obviously than ever before, the needs of their party and their side : they seem to be the sectaries of party rather than the free representatives of the whole commonwealth ; and while we admit the need of party, and are ready to applaud the party of our choice, we are not equally ready to admit the need, or to applaud the role, of the

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of executive control than the legislature had gone in the way of legislative control. It vests itself with legislative power by some form of *Lex regia*, ceremonially passed in the legislature, which gives the force of law to its proclamations. It becomes, in form as well as in substance, an organ of legislation as well as an executive organ.

§ 7. DEMOCRACY IN AN ERA OF ECONOMIC AND SCIENTIFIC CHANGE

To the catalogue of the difficulties of democracy there is another still to be added. This is a difficulty which is due, not to the organs of democracy and the defects into which they may fall, but to the nature of the functions which they have to discharge and the speed with which they have to discharge them under the conditions of modern life. The functions of government have become largely economic: the speed at which they have to be discharged has become bewildering. The difficulty is not peculiar to democracy: it is common to all forms of government. But it presses with particular weight upon democracy. Democracy is the government of all: economic problems affect all, but they also affect different sections differently; and how can all arrive at any agreed solution, or indeed at any solution, when they are vexed by deep differences of outlook and interest? Democracy, again, is not in its nature congenial to rapid decision: based on a process of discussion, it has a great need *godere il beneficio del tempo*; and time is now flying too rapidly to dispense its benefits.

Democracy in its nature has always carried economic implications. In the days of struggle, when men were agitating for a democratic suffrage and parliamentary institutions, they were also agitating for something which lay behind and beyond their more immediate objects. They did not merely desire the vote: they desired a key to unlock a new world in which the sinister interests of privilege would be corrected, and equal justice, directed to a more equal distribution of happiness, would be established. In the days of achievement, when a general suffrage and a representative parliament had become accomplished facts, the economic consequences of democracy became still clearer. New social classes had been enfranchised: their interests and their desires found public expression; and

politics : the new physical environment with which we have surrounded the whole of our life affects our political systems and the whole order of our societies.

There is an old and simple proverb which says, 'The more haste, the less speed'. It does not follow from our greater rapidity that we are attaining better solutions, or even that we are attaining any solution. Perhaps all great decisions on cardinal issues are slowly and surely matured. But for our own day, and in this generation, we have to reckon with a mood of impatience, which belongs to a period of rapid mechanical change and may pass away when we settle down into our new environment. This impatience is one of the causes of that 'crisis of democracy' which, in its turn, is one of the many 'crises' among which we live. It leads us to look for sudden salvations and sudden saviours. It throws out of gear, for the time being, the steady process of democratic discussion. With all the means of rapid publicity and instantaneous communication—the talking film, the broadcast voice, the rapid dash by aeroplane—a new system of electric and instantaneous executive leadership now finds its opportunity. Nor is it only the technology of physics, and the new marvels of physical invention, which provide the opportunity. It is also what may be called the technology of psychology. The pure and experimental study of psychology, like the pure and experimental study of physics, is a pure addition to the total sum of human knowledge. But there is a form of technical or applied psychology—the psychology not of the laboratory and the student, but of the market-place and the man of affairs—which has also to be taken into account. It provides a technique which can substitute an induced mass-emotion, by the use of appropriate stimuli, for the rational process of general discussion. When we are taking stock of the influence which applied science, in all its various forms, is exerting upon the conduct and temper of politics, we must not forget the influence of applied psychology.

It is a facile and a foolish generalization which makes modern science, in any of its applications, the natural foe of a democratic government. The student of natural science is not responsible for the application of the results which he attains ; and it would be a treason to the cause of science if any scientist allowed himself to be stopped, by a prophetic fear of possible

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giving it, to lay a healing hand on our perturbations. Social psychology may well develop into a form of social therapeutics which can ease the whole process of social life.¹

§ 8. DEMOCRACY IN RELATION TO MODERN METHODS OF

PRODUCTION AND DISTRIBUTION

The material and mechanical changes in the equipment and the pace of life, and their influences on the behaviour of nations and the conduct of national government, form only one aspect of the general revolution of environment which affects all the activity of modern society. There is another and more fundamental aspect, which has already been mentioned, and to which we must now return. The general revolution of environment not only involves physical changes in the equipment and pace of life : it also involves economic changes in the production and distribution of wealth. It is not only a revolution in the world of physics : it is also a revolution in the world of economics. Behind all systems of politics, including the system of democracy, there stands the system of economics. That system, in its present form, presents every system of politics with the profoundest and the most persistent problems which it has to face. But it presents them to democracy in the acutest and most serious form.

There is the problem, in the first place, of the organization of the economic system for its primary purpose of production. That organization, in almost all States, is capitalistic. The owner of capital resources, or the agent who acts on behalf

¹ This was the aim of Graham Wallas. In a letter to the writer, written on the eve of the last War (22 July 1914), he defined it as follows : ' The social psychologist is bound to deal essentially and primarily with types of behaviour. His purpose, as I conceive it, is entirely practical. He is aiming . . . at a sort of social therapeutics. For that purpose he wants to find out how a normal man will behave in the presence of a given stimulus, and how far, by changing the stimulus, you can change his behaviour.'

There are two further sentences in the letter of July 1914 which are worth quoting. We are apt to distinguish between the processes of emotion and instinct, and those of reason and reflection. Graham Wallas drew the writer's attention to the ' false dichotomy of all processes leading to action as consisting either of unreflecting obedience to instinctive impulse, or of a series of fully conscious logical conclusions' ; ' I believe', he continued, ' that the normal alternative or the ordinary man in actual life is between the following of instinct and [the allowing of] reflection ; but that reflection in ordinary life consists of processes argely sub-conscious, making small use of language, and directed by no logical system.' In a word, we are less rational than we think in what we call our reasoning, and perhaps just for that reason more rational than we think in what we call our instinctive impulses. A basis is thus laid for the work of the social psychologist in seeking to rationalize impulse.

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scope to impose further limits, than other forms of States have done. We have to face larger questions. There is, first of all, a question of logic. Can democracy, in its nature, co-exist with any form of economic absolutism, however limited? Does it not naturally and logically involve a parallel system of economic democracy, under which the control of production and distribution, in every industry and in every factory, is vested not in a limited autocracy, but in a free partnership of all the agents concerned, who will all determine by common rules, based on a common agreement and attained by a process of common discussion, both the processes of production and the methods of distribution? Such a partnership would not necessarily involve the substitution of a system of social ownership of capital resources for the existing system of private ownership. In other words, it would not necessarily entail the institution of socialism. On the contrary, it would be compatible with the private ownership of capital resources, if only that ownership were diffused, or agreement could be attained that it should be progressively diffused, among all the agents engaged in production. But if the ideal of economic democracy, thus expressed in the form of free partnership, would not necessarily involve the institution of socialism, it would necessarily entail the ending of capitalism in its present form, as a system which vests the control of production and distribution in a body of owners distinct from, and superior to, the other agents concerned in the economic process. We are thus brought to a second question. This is a question of fact and practice. Can any democratic community, as a matter of fact and in actual practice, reasonably hope to achieve, by the democratic process of discussion and compromise, a solution of the economic problem which involves the ending of capitalism in its present form? Is it not too hopelessly divided into two camps, one standing stiffly for the present form of capitalism, and the other standing no less stiffly for the institution of a new system of socialism? We seem to be plunged into a dilemma. On the one hand, democracy ought to secure some economic order of society which is congenial with its own nature and is attained by its own process. On the other hand, its process seems inadequate to attain the solution which is congenial with its nature. The process of debate and compromise seems incapable of attaining that solution, or indeed any solution at

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The dualism is simple—too simple to do justice to the multiplicity of actual life, which is not all plain black and white ; but its very simplicity is cogent. Under the influence of this dualism it is easy to see everywhere ' two and two, one against another '. Politics, like the rest of life, can be schematized on this system. There will then be, on the one hand, an organized wealth-owning class, anxious to preserve and increase its wealth, and striving to use the machinery of politics for this object : there will equally be, on the other, an organized non-wealthy class, anxious (under the same impulse of economic necessity) to redistribute wealth, and striving to use the machinery of politics for the achievement of that object. On this basis the process of democracy is subjected to two contrary stresses ; and the result of the process will necessarily depend on their relative strength. It will not be common deliberation which will decide economic issues. It will be different and conflicting stresses. When one of the stresses is greater, we shall have what is called capitalistic democracy. When the other is greater, the victory will lie with what is termed social democracy. But there will never be pure and simple democracy. That can never exist after the two antagonists have once entered the scene—or until they both leave it.

If we pursue this line of interpretation, we are confronted by the fact that ' capitalistic democracy ' is now generally in the ascendant. This seems, at first sight, a paradox. Universal suffrage is now the rule : under universal suffrage the non-wealthy class is the great majority of the electorate ; and the stress of that class should therefore be far the greater. But there is an explanation of this paradox which may easily, and not unjustly, be pressed. The electorate is not the whole of the system of democratic machinery. It is only one part of the system ; and it is influenced by other parts. We must therefore study the whole of the system of democracy in order to understand the actual play of the stresses to which it is subject. If we do so, it is contended, we shall readily see why the stress (or ' pull ') of capitalism is the stronger.

The argument may be stated in some such terms as these. Democracy is a process of discussion. Discussion requires publicity—full and fair publicity—for every point of view. That requirement is not satisfied so long as the power of wealth controls the means of publicity. The wealth-owning

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Crudely stated, in such a form, the theory of 'capitalistic democracy' is hardly convincing. It is true enough that, on any argument, the dice are loaded in favour of the wealthy advocate of opinion. It is seldom that opinions carry weight in pure proportion to their intrinsic merit. A little experience of life is sufficient to teach us that the opinions of those who command prestige—whether the prestige be derived from official position, or from birth, or from wealth—have an influence which is out of proportion with their inherent value. Those who have held office, and then relinquished or lost it, are sufficiently aware of this simple truth. The pure struggle of opinions, on their own merits, is hardly ever achieved in any community. But it is one thing to admit that wealth, like office or birth, adds an inevitable (and yet, in a sense, an artificial) weight to the opinions of its possessor : it is another thing to contend that wealth can purchase and pervert general opinion. We pay too great a compliment to the power of wealth when we think that it can purchase the victory not merely of its own opinions, but of its own interested opinions, for the price of mere money. The victory of any cause has to be bought at a higher price ; and that price is the reason and as well as too great a compliment to the power of wealth, to imagine that any other price will ever be generally accepted. Men sell many things for money ; but one thing which they do not readily sell is their convictions. There is a curious blend of lofty idealism and bitter cynicism in those who hate the idea, but magnify the power, of capitalism. They believe with passion in a new and ideal dispensation which transcends capitalism, and they must therefore also logically believe in the higher capacities of human nature which are necessary for its achievement ; but they believe equally, and with no less passion, in the corrupting power of the present order of capitalism, and in the liability of human nature to succumb to the power of corruption. It is often the tendency of the idealist to divorce his ideal from the ground of reality—to magnify the ideal beyond the reach of realization, and to vilify the real beyond the power of recognition. This mixture of idealism and pessimism—this divorce between reality and the ideal—naturally issues in an advocacy of the method of revolution. When the ideal is absolutely divorced from the

Confédération Générale du Travail has been in France, a movement separate from the political organization of the Labour party : it has not even, as was the case in Germany down to 1933, contented itself with acting as an independent economic ally of the workers' political party. The English Trade Unions, since the beginning of the present century, have been regular members of the Labour party, affiliated to it for political purposes even while they also continue to act independently for economic purposes, in their own field. But in any case, and in all countries, whether the economic organization of labour is dovetailed into or separate from its political organization, it is generally an integral part and a powerful factor in a solid and sympathetic organization of labour. When we speak in terms of two nations or classes, we must not forget that if one of them can rely on the subtle and pervasive effects of wealth, the other can rely on the massive weight not only of its political party, but also of its organized and cohesive economic associations.

§ 10. THE IDEA OF THE TWO RIVAL DEMOCRACIES

So far as the argument has gone, it may be said to prove, or at any rate to suggest, that on the ground of actual reality it is impossible to speak in the over-simplified terms of 'capitalistic democracy', in which the capitalistic class is supposed to exclude the workers from any effective share in the exercise of power by the subtlety and the ramifications of its influence. At the very least we must set by the side of 'capitalistic democracy' another and rival 'labour democracy', with its own equipment and its own native source of strength. Are we then to believe in two democracies, and not one; and are we to hold that the two are irretrievably divided? Is that the lesson which we must learn if we place ourselves on the ground of actual reality? In that case we shall have escaped from the over-simplicity of capitalistic democracy only to fall into the utter dualism of two opposed democracies which somehow co-exist but cannot co-operate. We shall have one democracy based on the primary principle of private property in capital resources, with all its corollaries; we shall have another based on the primary principle of public ownership of those resources; and since the difference is held to be a difference of primary principle—since it is conceived as turning

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explosive than any other cause, there was the external corollary and sequel of national unification. Even if it *were* actually united at home, a newly united country would inevitably feel that it had not achieved its unification, or consolidated its unity before the world, until it had found a place in the sun proportionate to its new strength. 'When we were disunited, we did not count; now that we are united, we must count for all the worth of our unity'. This is instinctive feeling. It issues in a collective mood of sensitive pride, disturbing the old equilibrium of States (and with it all the old States which are content to sleep in an equilibrium), but rallying the members of each new State in a new devotion to a new and higher power of unity. It is in this sense, and from this point of view, that we say that the history of national unification is a process which was not, after all, completed in the nineteenth century, but is still active—and indeed more volcanically active than ever—in the twentieth. Our hopes were vain when we dreamed of the consummation of a national unity which would henceforth be content to follow the tranquil methods of national self-government. We did not know the strength of the national ferment, or how it would continue to work—without as well as within.

But there is another way in which men may press the idea of unity as something transcending, and therefore determining, the individual. They may not only start from the idea of the nation, and exalt the claims of national loyalty; they may also start from the idea of the class, and proclaim the duty of class solidarity. The two ways may seem, at first sight, to lead in opposite directions. The nationalist is ready enough to claim that his cause is the cause of unity; but he is equally ready to insist that the cause of class is the cause of disunity. His claim and insistence are just if we admit the assumption he makes—the assumption that his idea of unity is the only true idea, or at any rate the higher idea to which all others must be adjusted. But it is obvious that the idea of class is also a major idea of unity for those who believe only, or believe pre-eminently, in the unity of class; and if the idea of the unity of class be made a transcendent and determining unity, there will be no intrinsic difference between the high nationalist's conception of the claims of unity and that of the high socialist. There may of course be extrinsic differences. There

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may be differences in the number of persons who are united, or supposed to be united, in the group. The nation may include more persons, and may, in that merely quantitative sense, be said to be a greater unity. On the other hand a class which claims and attempts to be international may seek to surpass the nation even in point of quantity. Again there may be differences in the number of interests which one form of group includes in comparison with another. Here the nation, *prima facie*, is the more comprehensive group ; and including a wider range of interests—more especially all the great interests which go by the name of national culture—it may claim a pre-eminence of quality. On the other hand a class may also vindicate for itself the possession of a culture which is peculiar to itself and gives it a peculiar quality. It may regard itself as equal to the nation in the number of interests which it comprehends, and superior, by virtue of its community of economic status and feeling, in the solidarity with which it supports those interests. The extrinsic differences between nation and class are not, after all, so great that only one of the two can claim to be the vehicle of unity. Both can make that claim ; and both may press the claim to the ultimate conclusion in which unity becomes the dominating and determining principle of human life and action.

It is thus not only the unspent tide of national unification, but also a new and rising tide of class consciousness and class solidarity, which has led to the contemporary eruption of the group and the worship of the group. The liberal or democratic State, which simply assumes the existence of a national society, and directs itself by the policy of discussion between its members, is challenged on two fronts. There are those, on the one hand, who feel that the existence of national society cannot be simply assumed, and that its continuance is incompatible with the free play of discussion. To them national unity is an end which is still to be attained, and can only be attained by devotion and sacrifice : to them the leader, who inspires the devotion and claims the sacrifice, is the only form of government consistent with the end. On the other hand there are those who see no value in any form of national society, whether it be assumed as a tacit condition or exalted as an ultimate end ; who substitute class for nation, and demand for the class the same devotion, and the same system

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opinion and for the government ; and in this way science, essential to the working of the State both as a method of acquiring knowledge and as a body of results and truths, might yet become the governing factor in our human organization.

Such a scheme does not involve the substitution of scientific government for democracy. It involves only what may be called a mixed government—partly composed of a scientific procedure and personnel, and partly of what may be called (at any rate in comparison) the non-scientific and empirical process of democracy. Accepting, for the moment, the distinction which is suggested, and admitting, for the moment, the implication that democracy is in its nature something non-scientific, we may pause to remark that this form of mixed government—half science, and half democracy—has long been at work in our country. It was the scientific surveys made by the English system of parliamentary democracy, and faithfully recorded in its Blue Books for the guidance of public opinion and the government, which formed the main bases of Marx's *Das Kapital*.¹ The same method of scientific survey, ending in cool and calm recommendations, has been steadily pursued in the 75 years since *Das Kapital* was published. Royal commissions, ordinary commissions, and departmental committees, on the executive side ; on the legislative side, statutory commissions appointed under Act of Parliament, select committees appointed by either House of Parliament, and joint select committees appointed by both Houses—in various forms, and with various powers, expert scientific commissions always abound.² Indeed the general criticism is that they over-

¹ Compare Marx's own words, in the preface to the first edition of 1867. 'We should be appalled at the state of things at home (i.e. in Germany), if, as in England, our governments and parliaments appointed periodically commissions of inquiry into economic conditions ; if these commissions were armed with the same plenary powers to get at the truth [scientific method] ; if it was possible to find for this purpose men as competent, as free from partisanship and respect of persons [scientific personnel], as are the English factory-inspectors, her medical reporters on public health, her commissioners of inquiry into the exploitation of women and children, into housing and food.' It is curious to reflect that what is nowadays called, by modern Marxists, 'capitalist democracy' received this great compliment from Marx himself.

² The method adopted in preparing the Government of India Act of 1935 may fairly be described as scientific. (a) It began in 1927 with the appointment of a statutory commission in virtue of a section in the Government of India Act of 1919. That commission, after visiting India, reported in 1929. (b) The second stage was an Indian Round Table Conference (composed of representatives convened from India by the government to join with representatives of British political parties, drawn from both Houses of Parliament, in discussing the

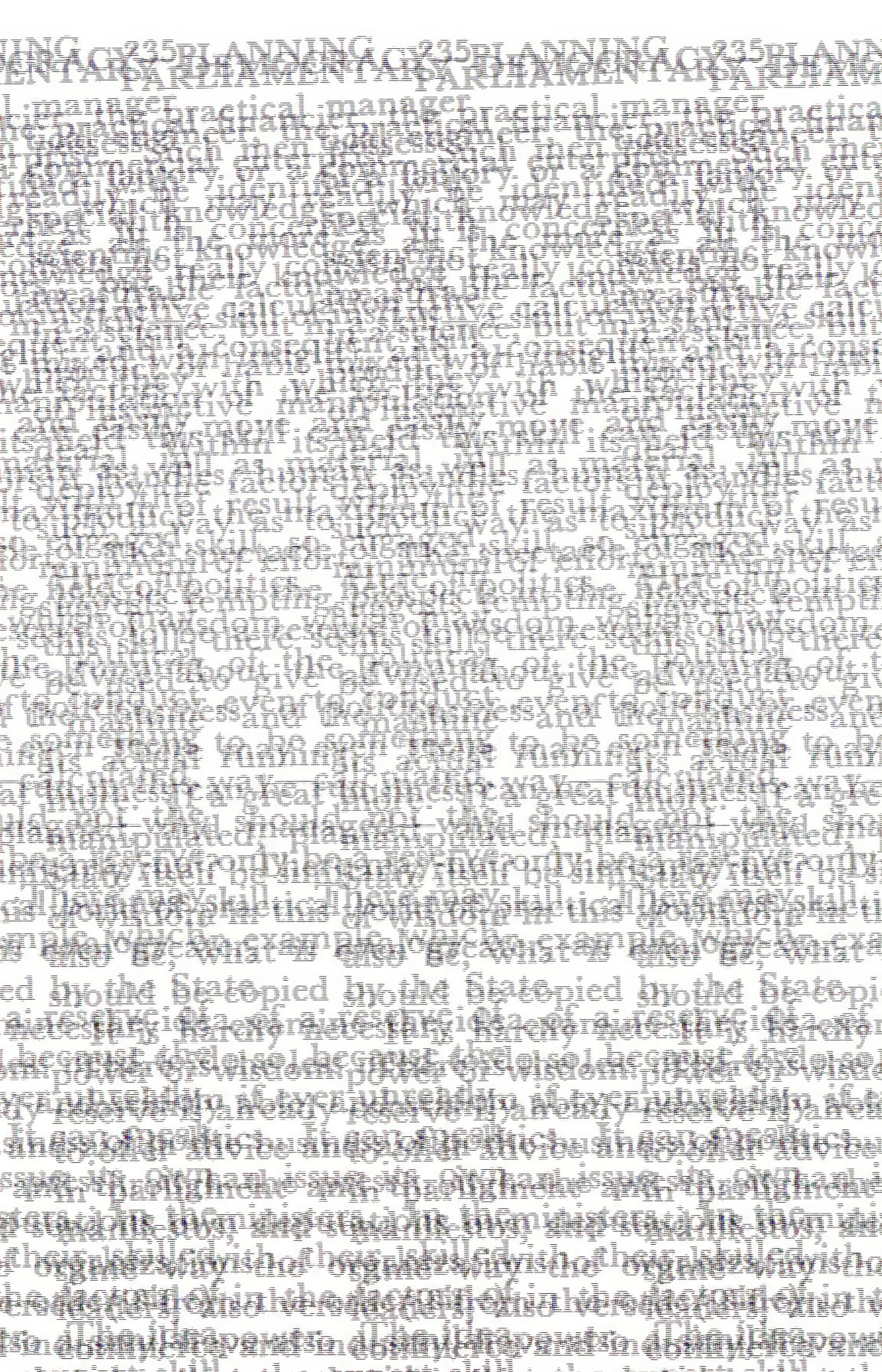
abound : that to appoint a commission and invite a report is a way of salving conscience and shelving action ; that libraries are stacked with the records of good intentions which remain at the stage of intentions, and still more with the voluminous records of data on which these intentions are based. The criticism is too simple to be just. Not every scientific investigation bears immediate fruit, and there are many which bear no fruit at all ; but that is no reason for condemning the general method of such investigation. The record of investigation stands ; if it is compelling enough to demand action, there will be action : if it is not, there is still the record, and that may be used by a Marx (with large results) even if it is not used by the statesman.

Nor need the method of investigation be confined only to particular problems as they arise, or pursued only by *ad hoc* commissions. There is also a virtue in standing commissions of inquiry and report ; and such standing commissions have also been incorporated in the general machinery of parliamentary government. These standing commissions (or, as they are styled, consultative committees or councils) may be attached to particular departments, to conduct investigations and to make recommendations in the general field which each covers. An example is the consultative committee of the Board of Education, established by Statute in 1899, which, among other reports on issues remitted to it by the President of the Board, prepared (after two years of preliminary investigation) a report on the Education of the Adolescent which has largely affected the course of elementary education during the last

report of the statutory commission and the general problems involved), which sat in London and held three main sessions from the end of 1930 to 1932. The result of the Conference was a White Paper, issued by the Government in 1933, containing its eventual proposals for Indian Constitutional Reform. (c) After the statutory commission and the Round Table Conference, the third stage was a joint committee of both Houses, to consider the future government of India and in particular the White Paper, which the committee proceeded to do, in consultation with delegates from India, from the spring of 1933 to the end of 1934. The Report of the Joint Committee, at the end of 1934, issued (after long and anxious debates) in the final Government of India Act of 1935. Three successive Governments were in power between 1927 and 1935—a Conservative Government, a Labour Government, and a National Government. The changes of government did not disturb, in any essential respect, the working of the scientific method by which the final Act was prepared. That the Act should since have partially failed was in no sense due to defects of proper procedure (unless it be held that it was such a defect that a constitution for India should not have been prepared in India, by an Indian National Assembly) : it was due to deep-seated causes in India.

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1. The first step in the process is to identify the problem. This involves gathering information about the situation and understanding the needs of the stakeholders involved.

2. Once the problem is identified, the next step is to develop a plan. This involves setting goals, identifying resources, and determining the steps that need to be taken to address the problem.

3. The third step is to implement the plan. This involves putting the plan into action and monitoring progress to ensure that the goals are being met.

4. Finally, the fourth step is to evaluate the results. This involves assessing the effectiveness of the plan and making adjustments as needed to improve the outcome.

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1. The first step in the process is to identify the problem or issue that needs to be addressed. This involves gathering information and understanding the context of the problem.

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career¹): it was an epoch in which new and contradictory ideas, sometimes within the framework of one and the same constitution, were jostling with one another. There were new schemes for second chambers, if indeed a second chamber was retained at all; there were new forms of elected cabinets, appointed en bloc by the legislature; there was a new vogue of universal suffrage, proportional representation, the use of the referendum, and the use of electoral initiative for the purpose of legislation: there were new ideas of federalism and devolution, and new schemes for economic councils to aid and to supplement parliaments; there was a new germination of multiple parties.² Theory was in the air; men spoke of a new 'democratic rationalization of political power': professors of law and political science were busy. It was all an aftermath of a great war; but it was only an immediate aftermath. There were still other crops to be gathered; and they soon began to be gathered.

'War', Thucydides said, 'is a violent teacher'. The lessons which it teaches, or the mental results which it produces, may come in successive waves; and one wave may contradict, or at any rate deflect, the trend of its precursor. The first wave of the lessons of the war, at the end of 1918, trended towards an extension of democracy. It was not only a matter of the victory of the side which had professed the democratic cause: it was also a matter of the human claims of the millions of men and women who, in every country engaged, had laboured in the war, and now began to demand a recognition of their labours. The extension of the suffrage in Great Britain, by the end of 1918, belongs to the period of this mood. But a second wave followed, and a third.

First there came, as there was bound to come, the wave of revisionism. Any great settlement, at the end of a great war, will inevitably be called in question by those who feel that they suffer from its terms. This had happened after the Utrecht settlement of 1713: it happened again after the Vienna settlement of 1815; and it happened once more after

¹ The constitution of the Irish Free State was adopted on 25 October 1922: on 29 October the march on Rome had taken place, and Signor Mussolini had become the head of the Italian government.

² See Miss Headlam-Morley, *The New Democratic Constitutions of Europe* (1928); B. Mirkine-Guetzevitch, *Les Constitutions de l'Europe nouvelle* (1929), especially the *Essai synthétique*, pp. 5-56.

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Figure 1: Schematic representation of the experimental design. The diagram shows a flow from 'Stimulus' to 'Response' and 'Reaction time'. The 'Stimulus' is a word, and the 'Response' is a button press. The 'Reaction time' is the time between the stimulus and the response. The diagram is divided into two main sections: 'Stimulus' and 'Response'. The 'Stimulus' section shows a word being presented, and the 'Response' section shows a button being pressed. The 'Reaction time' is indicated by a horizontal line between the stimulus and the response.

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The authors thank the referees for their constructive comments and suggestions. The authors also thank the National Natural Science Foundation of China (Grant No. 81273055) and the National Natural Science Foundation of China (Grant No. 81273055) for their financial support.

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1. The first step is to identify the problem. This involves understanding the current situation, identifying the problem, and determining the scope of the problem.

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 2. *Chlorophyll b* (Chl *b*)
 3. *Chlorophyll c* (Chl *c*)
 4. *Chlorophyll d* (Chl *d*)
 5. *Chlorophyll e* (Chl *e*)
 6. *Chlorophyll f* (Chl *f*)
 7. *Chlorophyll g* (Chl *g*)
 8. *Chlorophyll h* (Chl *h*)
 9. *Chlorophyll i* (Chl *i*)
 10. *Chlorophyll j* (Chl *j*)
 11. *Chlorophyll k* (Chl *k*)
 12. *Chlorophyll l* (Chl *l*)
 13. *Chlorophyll m* (Chl *m*)
 14. *Chlorophyll n* (Chl *n*)
 15. *Chlorophyll o* (Chl *o*)
 16. *Chlorophyll p* (Chl *p*)
 17. *Chlorophyll q* (Chl *q*)
 18. *Chlorophyll r* (Chl *r*)
 19. *Chlorophyll s* (Chl *s*)
 20. *Chlorophyll t* (Chl *t*)
 21. *Chlorophyll u* (Chl *u*)
 22. *Chlorophyll v* (Chl *v*)
 23. *Chlorophyll w* (Chl *w*)
 24. *Chlorophyll x* (Chl *x*)
 25. *Chlorophyll y* (Chl *y*)
 26. *Chlorophyll z* (Chl *z*)
 27. *Chlorophyll aa* (Chl *aa*)
 28. *Chlorophyll ab* (Chl *ab*)
 29. *Chlorophyll ac* (Chl *ac*)
 30. *Chlorophyll ad* (Chl *ad*)
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 41. *Chlorophyll ao* (Chl *ao*)
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[illegible]

1. The first step in the process is to identify the problem. This involves gathering information about the situation and understanding the needs of the stakeholders involved.

[illegible]

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Abstract

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Abstract The purpose of this study was to determine whether there were differences in the prevalence of self-reported depression between men and women who had been exposed to violence by intimate partners. Data from the National Longitudinal Study of Women's Health are used. Results show that among women who reported being sexually abused by their current or former partner, 10% reported having experienced depression during the past year compared to 6% of those who did not report sexual abuse. Among women who reported physical abuse by their current or former partner, 17% reported experiencing depression during the past year compared to 8% of those who did not report physical abuse. These results suggest that exposure to violence by intimate partners is associated with higher rates of self-reported depression.

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One of the main reasons for the failure of the reform is the lack of a clear and consistent policy. The government has been inconsistent in its approach, leading to confusion and uncertainty among the people. This has resulted in a lack of trust in the government and its policies.

Another major factor is the corruption within the government and the private sector. This has led to a loss of public confidence and has hindered the implementation of the reform. The government has failed to address this issue effectively, leading to a stagnation of the reform process.

The third reason is the lack of a strong legal system. The government has failed to establish a robust legal framework that can enforce the rules of the reform. This has led to a lack of accountability and has allowed for the continuation of corrupt practices.

Finally, the reform has been hindered by the lack of a strong civil society. The government has failed to engage with the people and to involve them in the decision-making process. This has led to a lack of ownership and commitment to the reform.

In conclusion, the failure of the reform is the result of a combination of these factors. The government has failed to implement a clear and consistent policy, to address corruption, to establish a strong legal system, and to engage with the people. Without these changes, the reform is unlikely to succeed.

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Lebensministerium, Österreich, Examinations- und Prüfungsamt, Examinations- und Prüfungsamt

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IN the myth which comes at the end of Plato's *Republic*, an Interpreter marshals in order the souls which are standing on the brink, about to plunge into a new cycle of existence. Mounted on a high platform, he speaks, 'Souls of a day, here shall begin a new round of earthly life. . . . No guardian spirit will cast lots for you, but you shall choose your own destiny. . . . The blame is his who chooses : Heaven is blameless'.¹

ὅς τις δαίμων ἡγήσεται, ἀλλ' ὑμεῖς δαίμονα ἀγορεύετε. Man-kind is confronted to-day, as perhaps it has never been confronted before in its history, by the problem of a deliberate and conscious choice of destiny. Men are gathered together, 'multitudes, multitudes in the valley of decision'; and in the old and original sense of the Greek word 'crisis' they are asked, first to discriminate among, and then to decide between, the alternatives by which they are confronted. On the one hand stands the cause of civil and political liberty, with all its corollaries and consequences. It is not an easy cause, nor does it promise a soft and easy destiny. 'Heaven knows how to put a proper price upon its goods; and it would be strange indeed if so celestial an article as freedom should not be highly rated'.² On the other hand stand the alternatives to freedom which we have sought in the preceding chapters to distinguish and describe. None of them presents an altogether easy cause; nor are the destinies which they offer alluring, or even intended to be alluring. They offer, indeed, security, but they offer it at the price of liberty; and the promise of the gift is accompanied by a demand for a drilled and arduous obedience.

Three main movements of human life have brought men to the moment of crisis in which they stand. One of these movements sets towards the division of each community into opposed and conflicting social groups, based on opposed and conflicting social interests. It is a movement within the internal life of the community : it makes, at any rate in its immediate trend, for disintegration; but it also tends, in its

¹ The translation is that of F. M. Cornford (Oxford, 1941).

² From the beginning of the first number of Paine's *American Crisis*, 1776.

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